

THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

"Union, harmony, self-denial, concession—everything for the Cause, nothing for Men."

No. 15.

RICHMOND, SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1840.

VOL. I.

TERMS.

The Crisis will be printed in quarto form, on a medium sheet, with new type. The price \$1—and no paper will be sent to any person, without payment in advance, postage paid. As nothing short of a very large and effective subscription can justify the continuation of the paper, the above terms will be strictly adhered to. We mean to make no debts at all. We assure all credit in this establishment, and insist upon the Cash System.

POLITICAL.

Interesting Correspondence.

We are requested by the Central Committee of the Democratic Party of Virginia to lay the following Correspondence before our Readers—and they earnestly recommend Mr. Poinsett's luminous, dignified and able letter to the consideration of every Citizen of the U. States:

RICHMOND, May 29, 1840.

Dear Sir:—The interest of the Administration, as far as that depends upon the favorable opinion of the People of this State, and also, as we believe, the cause of truth itself, have been greatly prejudiced by the extraordinary use which has been made of your late Report concerning the militia;—and the important contest we have at hand, will furnish fresh incentives for a continued resort to artifice and misrepresentation.—From these considerations, we are constrained to address you directly on the subject, and to state to you the substance of the objections made to your plan for re-organizing the militia. You are charged with a design of establishing a Standing Army of two hundred thousand men; with proposing a system without precedent in our annals, tyrannical and oppressive in all its details, and without a parallel in the history of free Governments—a plan, which it is alleged, was submitted to the President, examined and approved by him, and placed before Congress at this particular period in order to organize a body of voters to favor his re-election. You are charged, moreover, with having originated a scheme compelling every man to furnish his own arms and accoutrements, thereby imposing a heavy tax upon the citizens, contrary to the genius of our institutions.

These statements have been so solemnly urged, that they may impress a portion of the people of Virginia with distrust of one, who could have deliberately proposed and advised such a plan. And our opponents have so adroitly employed it to excite the prejudices of the people, that we ask you in the spirit of frankness, to review the whole subject, and to set forth the considerations which induced you to propose it at this particular juncture—explain to us the true character of your proposition, and the conclusions to which your deliberate judgment, aided by the objections of your adversaries, have conducted you; and state wherein the plan proposed by you differs from those, which on former occasions have been presented to Congress.

The archives of your own office, and the records of both Houses of Congress, place the means of obtaining the information we ask, more within your reach at Washington than is possessed by ourselves; and we respectfully ask you to enable us to set this matter in its true light before the public. Our object in doing so, is both to subvert the cause of truth by apprising you of the uses which have been made of your proposition in Virginia, and to afford you a fair opportunity of explaining it fully before the nation.

Very respectfully, yours,

THOMAS RITCHIE,

Secretary of the Central Dem. Com. of Va.

To J. R. POINSETT, Esq.,

Secretary of War, Washington.

MR. POINSETT'S REPLY.

WASHINGTON, June 5th, 1840.

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, of the 29th ultimo, stating your belief, that the cause of Democracy in Virginia had been seriously prejudiced by the extraordinary use which has been made of my late report concerning the militia, bringing to my view the substance of the objections made to my plan, and asking me to explain the true character of the proposition so as to enable the Central Democratic Committee, of Virginia, to set this matter in its true light before the public.

I avail myself, with great pleasure, of the opportunity thus afforded me of stating, through you, to my fellow-citizens of Virginia, and to the people of the United States, the motives which induced me to present a plan for the re-organization of the militia at this particular juncture, of explaining the principles on which it is founded, and of correcting as well the errors of

some who have opposed it fairly, as the misrepresentations of others who have sought only to deceive and mislead the people.

It must be fresh in your recollection, that Congress, very shortly before the close of the last session, by a vote unanimous in one house, and very nearly so in the other, expressed an opinion that the country was exposed to the hazard of being involved in war; and reposing a trust and confidence in the patriotism and wisdom of the President, unparalleled in the history of our Republic, adjourned after investing him with full powers to avert or to meet the danger. Immediately after the passage of that act, which defined the description of force to which the defence of the country was to be trusted in the event of war, the Committee on the Militia of the House of Representatives required me, through their Chairman, to prepare a plan for the better organization of the militia of the United States; and no sooner had Congress adjourned than the President, sensible of the responsibilities imposed upon him by this act, and anxious alike to justify the confidence of Congress and to discharge his duty to the nation, called upon the War and Navy departments to furnish him with statements showing the condition of the defence of the country. The subject was carefully examined, the state of our fortifications and military preparations, and of our regular and militia forces accurately ascertained and attentively considered. This examination proved, that the maxim bequeathed to us by the Father of his country, "IN PEACE PREPARE FOR WAR," had been utterly neglected. The avenues to our great commercial capitals and to our most important naval depots were unprotected, and there existed no means of manning the forts that were in a condition to receive their armament. A few regiments of the army were concentrated in Florida, from whence they could not be withdrawn without risking the safety of that Territory, and the remainder were dispersed along the extensive lines of the Northern and Western frontiers. If, therefore, the war which appeared to be apprehended by Congress, should have occurred, the defence of the country must have rested chiefly upon the militia of the United States. From these circumstances, no less than from the tenor of the act by which the only additional force provided for the occasion and placed by Congress at the disposal of the Executive was of this description, its condition became then an object of earnest solicitude, and the result of my inquiries was most unsatisfactory. In some of the States the citizens, liable to militia duty, turn the subject into ridicule, and instead of being armed and equipped according to law, appear in masquerade; in others, when mustered, a majority of them are armed with walking canes, fowling-pieces, or unserviceable muskets—while in all, the training produces little else than the abstraction of millions annually from the productive industry of the country. In some of the States, training the militia has been abandoned in despair, and the law of Congress on the subject become a dead letter. There were found in the chief towns companies handsomely uniformed and well drilled; but their number is insufficient to man the works or guard the approaches to their respective cities. With this force only to depend upon, the danger to which the country would be exposed on the occurrence of the contingency contemplated by Congress, could not be disguised. I shuddered, when I contemplated the scene of confusion that would attend the appearance of a hostile fleet before any of our principal seaports. The forts manned suddenly, with troops unaccustomed to the use of great guns, contrasting their slow and uncertain fire through which the enemy would pass unharmed until they moored their floating batteries opposite the city, with the rapid fire and unerring aim of the practised gunner by which an enemy would probably be destroyed, or so crippled as to be compelled to abandon the attack: or, supposing a force to land on our shores, I foresaw the useless slaughter of our best and bravest citizens, who, for want of instruction, would, in all human probability, be outmaneuvered and defeated, and the calamitous scene of the last war in the capture of Washington be acted over again. The result of this action in which raw militia were brought suddenly together and opposed to regular forces in the open field, compared with that of New Orleans, where the same description of troops were assembled some days before, and stationed behind ramparts, teaches an impressive lesson. On the one hand, we see a gallant but untrained army of militia wavering before the steady manœuvres of regular troops, breaking their line, and, panic struck, flying from the field, leaving the enemy in pos-

session of the city, to burn and destroy it: while on the other, a band composed of a few regulars and militia, who had the benefit of being brought together a short time in advance, and posted advantageously behind hastily-constructed lines, achieved one of the most brilliant and glorious victories recorded in history, saved the city which was the object of the enterprise, and drove the enemy with disgrace from our soil.

Called by the voice of Congress to prepare to defend the country, taught by the events of the last war what might be expected from an enterprising and great naval power, and warned by the English press of the possibility, in case of war with that country, of black regiments being landed within the territory of the Southern States, and that the horrors of a servile insurrection might be added to the ordinary calamities of war, it became the duty of the Executive to seek to organize and render efficient the only means of defence at hand.

The President concurred with me in opinion with regard to the importance of re-organizing the militia at this time; but had no agency in preparing the plan reported to Congress and no previous knowledge of its details. It was prepared, as has already been stated, at the request of a Committee of the House of Representatives expressed at the close of last session, and reported to this Congress upon a call of the House, made directly upon the Secretary of War, and, as is usual in all such cases, went to that body without being previously submitted to the President. With it or its details he, therefore, had nothing to do. In preparing it, my attention was first directed to the several plans which had been recommended to the consideration of Congress by Mr. Van Buren's predecessors, as well as those proposed by Committees of Congress, and experienced officers of the line and of the militia. In order that you may fully comprehend the subject, and justly appreciate the principles on which the plan under consideration is based, I will briefly recapitulate the leading points in the systems recommended.

The first plan, that of General Knox, was sanctioned by General Washington, after being modified according to the alterations suggested by him. It proposed to divide the militia into three classes. The first to be denominated the *Advance Corps*, and to be composed of young men from eighteen to twenty years of age, inclusive. The second to be denominated the *Main Corps*, and to be composed of men from twenty-one to forty five years of age; and the third to be denominated the *Reserve Corps*, and to be composed of men from forty-five to sixty years of age. "The whole of the *Advance Corps*," says the report, "shall be clothed according to the manner hereafter directed, armed and subsisted at the expense of the United States, and all the youth of the said Corps in each State, shall be encamped together, if practicable, or by legions, which encampment shall be called the Annual Camp of Discipline."

"The youth of eighteen and nineteen shall be disciplined for thirty days, successively, in each year, and those of twenty years shall be disciplined only for ten days in each year, which shall be the last ten days of the annual encampment."

"The non-commissioned officers and privates are not to receive any pay during the said time, but the commissioned officers will receive the pay of their relative ranks, agreeably to the Federal establishment for the time being."

General Knox then goes on to estimate for a major-general and staff, four brigadiers, with their inspectors and aids, and all the other officers for four legions, amounting to the annual sum of \$300,240.

The next project for organizing the militia was presented by Mr. Jefferson, in his message to Congress in December, 1835—He says, "You will consider whether it would not be expedient for a state of peace, as well as of war, so to organize or class the militia as would enable us, on a sudden emergency, to call for the services of the younger portions, unumbered with the old and those having families. Upwards of three hundred thousand able-bodied men, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six years, which the last census shows we may now count within our limits, will furnish a competent number for offence or defence, in any point where they may be wanted, and will give time for raising regular forces, after the necessity of them shall become certain; and the reducing to the early period of life all its active service, cannot but be desirable to our younger citizens of the present, as well as future times; inasmuch as it engages to them, in more advanced age, a quiet and undisturbed repose in the

bosom of their families. I cannot, then, but earnestly recommend to your early consideration the expediency of so modifying our militia system, as by a separation of the more active part, from that which is less so, we may draw from it, when necessary, an effective corps, fit for real and active service, and to be called to in regular rotation."

So earnest were Mr. Jefferson's convictions of the propriety and necessity of this measure, that at a late period of his life, this able statesman and exalted patriot thus writes to General Kosciuszko, on the 26th of February, 1810: "Two measures have not been adopted which I pressed upon Congress repeatedly at their meetings. The one to settle the whole ungranted territory of Orleans, by donations of land to able-bodied young men, to be engaged and carried there at the public expense, who would constitute a force always ready on the spot to defend New Orleans. The other was to class the militia according to the year of their birth, and make all those from twenty to twenty-five, liable to be trained and called into service at a moment's warning. This would have given us a force of three hundred thousand young men, prepared by proper training for service in any part of the United States; while those who had passed through that period would remain at home, liable to be used in their own or adjacent States. These two measures would have completed what I deemed necessary for the entire security of our country. They would have given me on my retirement from the government of the nation, the consolatory reflections, that having found when I was called to it, not a single seaport town in a condition to repel a levy of contribution by a single privateer or pirate, I had left every harbor so prepared by works and gun-boats, as to be in a reasonable state of security against any probable attack; the territory of Orleans acquired and planted with an internal force sufficient for its protection; and the whole territory of the United States organized by such a classification of its male force, as would give it the benefit of all its young population for active service, and that of a middle and advanced age for stationary defence. But these measures will, I hope, be completed by my successor, who, to the purest principles of Republican patriotism, adds a wisdom and foresight second to no man on earth."

In 1810, Mr. Madison called the attention of Congress to this subject. Speaking of the militia, he says, "It is for their consideration (Congress) whether further provisions are not requisite for the other contemplated objects of organization and discipline. To give to this great mass of physical and moral force the efficiency which it merits and is capable of receiving, it is indispensable, that it should be instructed and practised in the rules by which they are to be governed.—Towards an accomplishment of this important work, I recommend, for the consideration of Congress, the expediency of instituting a system, which shall, in the first instance, call into the field, at the public expense, and, for a time, certain portions of the commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The instruction and discipline thus acquired would gradually diffuse, through the entire body of the militia, that practical knowledge and promptitude for active service, which are the great ends to be pursued."

In 1812, when on the eve of a war with Great Britain, Mr. Madison repeats the recommendation with great earnestness—and at the close of the war, he says, "I cannot press too much on the attention of Congress such a classification and organization of the militia as will most effectually render it the safeguard of a free State. If experience has shewn in the recent splendid achievements of the militia, the value of this resource for the public defence, it has shewn also the importance of that skill in the use of arms, and of familiarity with the essential rules of discipline, which cannot be expected from the regulations now in force."

In 1812, the Legislature of Kentucky adopted resolutions on this subject, and recommended to Congress the classification of the militia by dividing it into three classes—the first to be composed of all capable of bearing arms from 15 to 21 years of age—the second between 21 and 27—the third between 27 and 45 years of age. The principal object of the first class would be, to acquire a knowledge of tactics and discipline; of the second, which might be denominated the effective one, to be completely armed and equipped to march whenever required; of the third, to form a reserve, which need not be compelled to attend musters, unless when called upon to render actual service."

"The progress of all capable of bearing arms, through the several classes, promises a greater perfection of discipline than can be effected under the present plan; all would, in fact, have thus passed through a school in which it would have been taught, and perhaps more than a million of dollars be annually saved to the community in the labor of those excused from uselessly attending musters. But the greatest advantage which would result from it would be the keeping an effective, disposable, and competent military force at all times ready for service, without the danger and inconvenience resulting from a Standing Army."

The great solicitude felt by Mr. Madison for a more

efficient organization of the army induced him again to call the attention of Congress to the subject. In his last message of December 3d, 1816, he says: "As a subject of the highest importance to the national welfare, I must again earnestly recommend to the consideration of Congress a re-organization of the militia on a plan, which will form it into classes according to the periods of life more or less adapted to military services. An efficient militia is authorized and contemplated by the Constitution, and required by the spirit and safety of the Government. The present organization of our militia is universally regarded as less efficient than it ought to be made; and no organization can be better calculated to give to it its due force, than a classification which will assign the foremost place in the defence of the country to that portion of its citizens, whose activity and animation best enable them to rally to its standard."

In conformity with these views and in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, requesting the Secretary of War to report a system for the organization and discipline of the militia, best calculated, in his opinion, to promote the efficiency of that force when called into the public service, a plan was submitted in 1817 by that officer which divided the militia into three classes. "Those between 18 and 21 years of age to be called the *Minor Class*; those between 21 and 31 to be called the *Junior Class*; and those over 31 and under 45 years of age to be called the *Senior Class* of militia."

The militia of the two first classes to be assembled at cantonments not more than twice a year, and that while so assembled they shall be subsisted and equipped at the expense of the U. S.—one or more arsenals and depôts were to be established in each State or Territory.

The committee of the House to which this portion of Mr. Madison's message and the plan of the Secretary of War were referred, and of which General William Henry Harrison was Chairman, submitted an elaborate report, accompanied by a bill, adopting the principles recommended by the Executive, and engrafted upon it a system for the military instruction of all the youth in the U. S. at the public expense. The report sets forth, that "to instruct the present militia of the country to any useful extent would require a larger portion of their time than they can possibly spare from the duty of providing for their families, unless they are liberally paid—to pay them, would absorb all the resources of the nation."

"The alternative appears to be to direct the efforts of the government to instruct such a portion of the militia as their means will allow, and which would produce the most beneficial result upon the whole mass."

The bill divided the militia into three classes, as proposed by the Secretary of War; and General Harrison says, "the junior or middle class will be composed of men who have small families or those who have none, who are in the full enjoyment of bodily strength and activity, and whose minds are more easily excited to military ardor and the love of glory, than those of a more advanced period of life. Notwithstanding this classification, it is recommended that the officers and sergeants of the whole militia of the United States, be trained for one month in every year, at the public expense. The estimate, upon the supposition that the officers and sergeants receive full pay for one month, without rations or an allowance of rations or forage, except to the Sergeants for whom rations might be necessary, amounts to \$1,738,500; and one made upon the supposition that the officers receive only half pay and the sergeants full pay and rations, amounts to \$1,578,000; a third estimate, upon the supposition that all the officers receive thirty dollars a month, or leaving them on full pay and rations, requires \$1,565,000 per month."

On coming into office, Mr. Monroe called the unremitting attention of Congress to the organization and discipline of the militia, and frequently repeated the recommendation.

In 1825, the then Secretary of War, Mr. Barbour, assembled a board composed of regular and militia officers, to take into consideration the expediency of re-organizing the militia. Their report, and the numerous letters addressed to the Secretary in reply to a series of queries put by him to the Governors of the several States, all recommend a select body of militia to be trained for the defence of the country, in preference to the fruitless attempt then and now making to discipline the whole mass.

Mr. Barbour says in his report to President Adams in 1826, "Important changes in the present system are indispensable to make the militia any way equal to the standard assigned it by the wishes of the patriot;" and again, "It would appear that keeping up a system of the militia so extensive as the present, and burdensome, without any advantage to a large class of our citizens, was altogether unnecessary. A different organization, therefore, by which at least a million and a half of our most useful citizens would be relieved from the unprofitable pageantry of military parade for five or six days in the year, constituting so injurious a draft on their industry, must be one which cannot fail to be well

received by the American people; and when too it is believed that notwithstanding this relief, a superior efficiency will be imparted to this natural arm of the national defence." The board of Officers composed of General Scott; Major-General T. Cadwallader of Pennsylvania; Adjutant-General Sumner of Massachusetts; Adjutant-General Daniel of N. Carolina; Lieutenant-Colonels Eustis, Z. Taylor and E. Cutler, and Major Nourse, of the United States Army, took the same view of the classification, as I have done, and exempted the young men up to the age of twenty-one, "because it was thought unnecessary, in time of peace, for government to interfere with the ordinary control of parents, guardians and masters over minors"—and gave it as their opinion, that a well-regulated, armed and instructed militia of 400,000 men for the whole Union, would be sufficient for all the purposes stated in the Constitution. They proposed "an Adjutant-General as necessary to the establishment of an efficient plan." They proposed "to increase the term of service when the militia may be called out by the President from three to twelve months." They proposed "to enrol and organize one brigade for every congressional district in the United States—the minimum aggregate to be 410,374 and the maximum aggregate 595,270 men." Camps of instruction to be formed for the officers alone, who are to receive pay during the period of encampment. 104 camps are recommended for ten days in the year, each to have an instructor from the regular army or from West Point, and the number of officers annually assembled and paid during the period of encampment, after making liberal deductions for absence from sickness and other causes, is estimated at 16,758. The whole expense calculated at \$1.50 cents a day for each officer, at \$1.25, and one dollar varies from \$318,123 = \$276,258 = to 234,343 for the ten days.

General Jackson, than whom no man in this country had better opportunities of observing and practically experiencing the deficiencies of the present system, recommended in the most earnest manner an organization of the militia by classes. He says in his message of December, 1835: "Occurrences to which we, as well as all other nations are liable, both in our internal and external relations, point to the necessity of an efficient organization of the militia. I am again induced, by the importance of the subject, to bring it to your attention. To suppress domestic violence, and to repel foreign invasion, should these calamities overtake us, we must rely, in the first instance, upon the great body of the community whose will has instituted, and whose power must support, the government. A large standing military force is not consonant to the spirit of our institutions, nor to the feelings of our countrymen; and the lessons of former days, and those also of our own times, show the danger, as well as the enormous expense of these permanent and extensive military organizations. That just medium which avoids an inadequate preparation on one hand, and the danger and expense of a large force on the other, is what our constituents have a right to expect from their Government. This object can be attained only by the maintenance of a small military force, and by such an organization of the physical strength of the country as may bring this power into operation, whenever its services are required. A classification of the population offers the most obvious means of effecting this organization. Such a division may be made as will be just to all, by transferring each, at a proper period of life, from one class to another, and by calling first for the services of that class, whether for instruction or action, which, from age, is qualified for the duty, and may be called to perform it with the least injury to themselves, or to the public. Should the danger ever become so imminent as to require additional force, the other classes in succession would be ready for the call. And if, in addition to this organization, voluntary associations were encouraged, and inducements held out for their formation, our militia would be in a state of efficient service. Now, when we are at peace, is the proper time to adjust and establish a practicable system. The object is certainly worth the experiment, and worth the expense. No one appreciating the blessings of a Republican Government, can object to his share of the burden which such a plan may impose. Indeed, a moderate portion of the national funds could scarcely be better applied, than in carrying into effect and continuing such an arrangement, and in giving the necessary elementary instruction." "The armor and the attitude of defence afford the best security against those collisions which the ambition, or interest, or some other passion of nations, not more justifiable, is liable to produce. In many countries, it is considered unsafe to put arms into the hands of the people, and to instruct them in the elements of military knowledge. That fear can have no place here, when it is recollected that the People are the sovereign power. Our Government was instituted, and is supported, by the ballot-box, not by the musket. Whatever changes await it, still greater changes must be made in our social institutions, before our political system can yield to physical force. In every aspect, therefore, in which I can view the subject, I am impressed with

the importance of a prompt and efficient organization of the militia."

And Mr. Cass, in his report of the same year, uses the following language: "The defective organization of the militia is universally acknowledged. But little practical utility results from the administration of the present system; and if this great element of national defence is worth preservation and improvement, it is time the whole subject should be examined, and that a plan suited to the exigencies of the country, should be adopted. I am unwilling to believe, that there are such inherent difficulties in this subject as to render it impracticable or even very difficult to organize this great force, so peculiarly adapted to our condition and institutions, in such a manner as to render it active and efficient in those junctures when the country may be called on to exert its power. I presume few would be found to advocate the maintenance of a standing military force, adequate to all the purposes of peace and war. When, therefore, those exigencies arise, from which no nation can expect exemption, and which call for an extension of our physical means, we must resort to an increase of the army, or to the embodying of the militia. It is obvious, from the extent of the country, that we can never keep at all the exposed points such a permanent force, as circumstances may occasionally require. The natural, and, in fact, the necessary dependence must be upon the militia; and if it be unorganized, we shall be found without the means to repel a foreign enemy, or to repress internal disturbances should these evils occur." "The basis of an efficient organization of the militia must be a selection for instruction and service of that part of the population best qualified for these duties. Age and physical capacity present the proper considerations for such a selection. The principle is stated, with his usual force by Mr. Jefferson, in his message to Congress of Dec., 1805."

"Had the general principles" so frequently "recommended been practically adopted, and a corresponding system established, with the necessary details, first for instruction, and then for active service, it cannot be doubted that the course of events which marked the commencement of the late war would have been avoided, and an immense expenditure of blood and treasure saved to the nation. The warning voice, which was not heeded then, may perhaps be heard now, and, if it is, it may produce incalculable benefits."

"A mere organization would avail but little, unless inducements were held out for proper instruction and equipment; and I consider, therefore, some provision for elementary instruction and for such equipment as may be necessary to excite a proper emulation, indispensable to any improvement of our militia system—indispensable, I may add, to its very existence. An arrangement for these objects would embrace the first class only. It would, to be sure, involve expense; for, an adequate compensation must be allowed to the persons required to be embodied at these schools of instruction for a few days in the year; and it would probably be found expedient to continue the present plan of voluntary corps with some changes, and to require them also to meet for improvement. It is in vain to expect, that the whole adult male population of the country can or will furnish themselves with the articles required by law; or that their collection, for any number of days they can afford to devote to this object, and under the usual circumstances of such assemblages, can produce any beneficial effect to themselves or their country. Already, in a number of the States, the system has sunk under the weight of public opinion, and the practical question now is, whether we shall remain, in fact, defenceless, or resort to a large standing military force in time of peace—that just dread of all free Governments; or adopt an efficient plan, which will prepare for the public defence the greatest force at the least cost, and without danger. The blessings we have inherited cannot be preserved without exertion, nor without expense. It were idle to sit still and flatter ourselves with the hope that war is never to overtake us, and it would be worse to delay all efficient organization of our physical means till the time for its active employment arrives. Nearly fifty years have elapsed, since the adoption of the present Constitution. During all that time no essential changes have been made in our militia system, and it has gradually declined in utility and efficiency, and in public confidence; and there is reason to fear its entire abandonment, unless it undergo important modifications. In this long interval, the value of the system seems to have been appreciated by all the Presidents of the United States, as well as those who from the habits of their lives could best estimate its value by their personal observations, as by those whose opinions may have been well formed from the course of events having relation to this matter; and in their annual communications, commencing with the Inaugural Address of General Washington, this subject has been almost constantly pressed upon the attention of Congress. For the purpose of showing its importance, in the opinion of those eminent citizens, I have caused their communications to be examined, and find that the subject has been presented to the legislature and the nation no less

than thirty-one times in their official recommendations. I indulge the hope that the present state of public affairs may lead to a re-examination of the system, and to such changes as may render it permanently useful."

My plan exempts the very young men from militia duty, and, in this respect, coincides with that proposed by General Scott, and recommended by Mr. Barbour—not only because I agree with them, that such a distribution of service is an improper and unnecessary interference with parents and guardians, and has an immoral tendency, but from the hardship it imposes, and the difficulty it creates of bringing together even a small body of men in sparsely settled districts. It includes all free white men, from the age of from 20 to 37, separating from the mass of the militia 200,000 men—one half of the number to be liable to be called out for training, and the other half to be liable to military duty as a reserve, if their services should be needed—the militia mustered for training, to be assembled in the neighborhood of depôts of arms to be established for the purpose, each battalion within its own State, and as nearly as practicable in the centre of its district. It recommends the battalion formation, as confessedly that best adapted for instruction. It contemplates arming the militia thus selected, with arms, to be furnished and kept constantly in good order, by the government—leaving in force the 1st section of the law of 1792, both because no preceding plan proposed its repeal, and because the act which provides for the distribution of arms among the several States in proportion to the number of their militia, enables them to relieve their citizens in a very great degree, from the burden of furnishing their own arms and equipments. That section of the old law is in these words: "That every citizen so enrolled and notified, shall, within six months thereafter, provide himself with a good musket or firelock, a sufficient bayonet and belt, two spare flints, and a knapsack, a pouch with a box therein, to contain not less than 24 cartridges suited to the bore of his musket or firelock, each cartridge to contain a proper quantity of powder and ball; or with a good rifle, knapsack, shot pouch and powder horn, 20 balls suited to the bore of his rifle, a quarter of a pound of powder; and shall appear so armed, accoutred and provided, when called out to exercise or into service—except, that when called out on company days to exercise only, he may appear without a knapsack. That the commissioned officers shall, severally, be armed with a sword or hanger, and espartoon; and that from and after five years from the passing of this act, all muskets for arming the militia, as herein required, shall be of bores sufficient for balls of the eighteenth part of a pound. And every citizen so enrolled and providing himself with arms, ammunition and accoutrements required as aforesaid, shall hold the same exempt from all suits, distresses, executions, or sales for debt or for the payment of taxes." This section of the act was approved by Gen. Washington in 1792; by Mr. Jefferson, upon a revision of this law in 1803, and has continued in force to this day.

The Constitution guarantees equally to the people of the United States the right of trial by jury and the right to keep and bear arms; and lest the people should neglect to exercise these inestimable privileges, on which their liberties as individuals and as a nation, in a great measure depend, the law has from the commencement of the government provided that they shall do their duty to themselves, and to their country in these essential particulars. The General Government aids the States to arm their citizens; but its constant policy has been, that every freeman in America should be armed and equipped in order that he may at all times be prepared to defend his country and his liberty.

My plan proposes to train the officers and men together; whereas, my predecessors appear to be of opinion that it is sufficient to have camps of instruction for officers. I have considered this question anxiously, and am convinced that the men who are to stand shoulder to shoulder in the hour of battle, should be trained together in time of peace; and equally satisfied that those who are to defend the forts and fight the great guns, must be assembled in the casemates and on the ramparts, and taught to load those guns quickly and fire them accurately.

The Committee of the House of Representatives of the 14th Congress, of which General Harrison was Chairman, appear to have been of the same opinion; but we differ in the manner of remunerating the services of the militia—that committee proposing to pay the officers alone, while my plan contemplates paying privates as well as officers; it having appeared to me, that the latter were equally entitled to be remunerated for their services, as those who commanded them.

My plan recommends the division of the whole territory of the U. S. into military districts; an arrangement, which will be acknowledged by every person acquainted with the subject, to be extremely useful to the service in time of peace, and absolutely necessary in war.

It proposes a succession in the militia companies selected for training, so that one-fourth part might every year impart to the body of the people a portion of the discipline and skill acquired during the period of ser-

vice, and one-fourth be received for training fresh from the people; thus keeping up in the trained bands the popular principle. It contemplates the previous legislation of the States, before its provisions are to be carried into effect, except in cases where citizens might volunteer their services.

In proposing to subject the militia when called out by the President, to the rules and articles of war, I have done no more than leave the law as it now stands. Such a provision has been found necessary to ensure proper subordination in the field, by all officers who have commanded militia, and by none of them was this necessity felt and more frequently acknowledged than by General Washington and General Jackson.

I have endeavored to answer your enquiries in the spirit of frankness in which they are made, and believe that it will be apparent, from this brief recapitulation of the repeated and urgent recommendations made to Congress by Mr. Van Buren's predecessors, and of the plans for the more perfect organization of the militia, proposed by former Secretaries of War, by Committees of Congress, and by experienced officers of the army and militia of the United States, that the proposition under consideration, so far from being new in principle, corresponds in its most essential provisions, with those recommended by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson, and is certainly not less liberal and democratic. Those illustrious men and enlightened patriots expressly state, that they regard the more perfect organization of the militia by training a given number of them with superior care, as affording the only means of avoiding the necessity of keeping on foot a large standing army.

They all inculcate the propriety of relieving the great mass of the militia from the onerous burthen of frequent mustering, and recommend the classification of it so as to confine the duty of training to defend the country, to a select body of men, varying only as to the number, from three to four hundred thousand men.

I do not pretend to say, that the system I have presented to Congress is the best that can be devised; but I hope my friends are now convinced that it is not without precedent in our annals, "tyrannical and oppressive in its details and without a parallel in the history of free Governments;" but, on the contrary, that in seeking to lessen the burthens of the people and at the same time to render the militia more efficient, I have done no more than imitated the example of the best and greatest men who have ruled the destinies of this country. If I have erred, so did they. If I thought it expedient, when the country was threatened with war to prepare to meet it, they urged their fellow-citizens to do so in time of peace. If I considered the present militia system defective and likely to lead to defeat and disgrace at the commencement of hostilities, and rendering the creation of a large standing army necessary during their continuance, and therefore recommended that a select body of citizens should be better trained, armed and equipped than the rest, in order that they might be prepared at all times to repel invasion or repress insurrection; so did Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and Jackson; and I am well satisfied, that in endeavoring to carry out their views and following their example, I have been guided by the beacon light of Liberty.

I have now presented to you my motives for submitting this proposition at this particular juncture, and as briefly as practicable, a sketch of the several plans which have been submitted to Congress since the foundation of our government; and after reviewing the whole subject as you request, aided by the lights derived from the objections of its opponents, I am satisfied that the organization proposed, so far from being tyrannical and oppressive in its details, would prove less onerous than that now in existence. It is true, the objections of its opponents have not afforded me much aid in considering the subject, for they apply almost exclusively, as before remarked, to the existing system. They impute to me all that may appear defective in the present organization under the militia law of 1792, and in order that this glaring attempt to deceive the people may be fully understood, I respectfully suggest that the act itself may be published.

That a man who, like Mr. Van Buren, has throughout his whole political career, placed his sole reliance upon the virtue, intelligence and independence of the people, should seek to enrol a select body of militia under the pretext of defending the country, when threatened with war, in order to organize a body of voters to favor his re-election, is too improbable to require refutation: and I may be permitted to say for myself, that every act of a long life spent in the public service, and devoted to the cause of freedom, forbids the conclusion that I would insult my fellow-citizens by supposing them capable of being made the tools of any man, however exalted in station or character.

I have the honor to be,

Dear sir, very sincerely,

Your obedient servant,

J. R. POINSETT.

THOMAS RITCHIE, Esq., Secretary to the Central Democratic Committee of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

Voices from Kentucky, Georgia and Indiana.

The Globe aptly says, that Mr. Webster rang the changes upon the word *change*—but the Opposition give us the sound; we give them the sense of it. Read the letters from Wickliffe of Kentucky; Lamar of Georgia; and Tillotson of Indiana; all able, distinguished, leading men in their respective States. The Lexington Reporter, conducted by D. C. Wickliffe, a brother of R. N. Wickliffe, complains that Mr. R. N. Wickliffe has separated himself from his relations—But the Louisville Advertiser says, that "On this point the Reporter is in error. We happen to know that a prominent relation of Mr. Wickliffe—a distinguished statesman—has also abandoned the party without principles—and that other relations of the same gentleman begin to doubt whether they can, with honor, adhere any longer to the Whig cause. Nor is this all. Our fellow-citizens in the country are turning by scores from Harrison. Log cabins and hurras for the hard cider candidate do not satisfy reflecting men—men who value the right of suffrage, and cannot consent to see it sported with or turned into ridicule. Other prominent men in Lexington, besides Mr. Wickliffe, have recently abandoned the hard cider party; and the position of Harrison, in reference to Abolition, a National Bank, and other agitating questions, is such as to render it impossible for him to be supported by Republicans."—And how can it be otherwise? These are changes which we recommend to Mr. Webster's consideration. They point to the result in November, as an infallible Index.

(From the Lexington (Kentucky) Gazette.)

MR. ROBERT N. WICKLIFFE.

In another column we publish the response of this gentleman to the call upon him in our last, emanating from several members of the Democratic party, to become a candidate to represent this county in the next Legislature. His private affairs compel him to decline the invitation, but he assigns with great clearness, calmness and strength, the considerations which have induced him to decline supporting General Harrison, and determined him to vote for Mr. Van Buren.

Most reluctantly, as is evident from the tone of his remarks, has he been driven to this conclusion. Indeed, there was every thing to deter him from his present course, which usually influences the formation and expression of opinions. His relatives are all to be found in the opposite ranks—some of them hold high stations, and many of them are warm partisans. Mr. Wickliffe has heretofore been elected to the Legislature from this county upon the Whig ticket, and the only path to preferment (from the decided Whig majority in this county and district) is to be found in the ranks of the Whigs.

Casting aside all these considerations, and looking alone to the aspect of parties and the principles at stake, with deliberate judgment he has cast from him early associations, the ties of party, the prospects of political advancement, and taken his stand in the ranks of the Democracy.

Most cordially do we welcome him. Not because we expect to derive success from his accession, but because of the strong proof it affords of the correctness of our cause and the justice and truth of our principles. Nothing but the clearest convictions of this could have induced such a step—by none but a strong-minded and true-hearted man would it have been taken.

For the Kentucky Gazette.

Mr. Editor: I perceive in your last paper, a call upon me to become a candidate for the Legislature. These notices of personal friendship, are by me duly appreciated; and my only regret is, that I am unable to respond affirmatively. My private interests, at present, imperiously demand my undivided attention.

Here I might close, but from the tenor of this call, it seems that my vote, at the next Presidential election, is the basis upon which "Many Voters" tender to me this invitation. Really, sir, I do not know a human being whose political opinions are likely, in any degree, to be affected by mine. I have, it is true, watched the progress of this great controversy now pending between the Whigs and Democrats, with a heart free from rancor, and with a sincere disposition to come to such conclusions as the dignity and interest of the country demand. That these conclusions are incompatible with my recent party relations, I do, now, most fully and distinctly avow.

I shall not undertake to discuss the great questions now presented for the solemn consideration of the American people, and upon the decision of which, in my judgment, much of the moral and intellectual character of this nation will hereafter depend. The public mind has authoritatively settled the question, that there should be a total and unqualified divorce of the Government from all Banks, State or National. The elections of '38 and '39 left the President in a triumphant majority upon the subject of the currency. Yet, strange to say, he is now in danger of his election, by the results of the Harrisburg Convention, and the combination of alarming elements by which General Harrison was put in nomination. There is something in this past my philosophy.

I have thought well of Gen. Harrison. I gave to him and ardent an animated support in 1836. I am not

now unfriendly to him—yet, I confess that I felt a deep degree of humiliation, when it appeared, that he had suffered three men in Cincinnati, to put forth that most dishonorable letter to the Oswego Association. The refusal of the Harrisburg Convention to publish to the world the principles by which the Whigs are known and characterized as a party, deeply impaired my faith in their political integrity. The assumption of control over Gen. Harrison, by an arrogant committee, and his acquiescence therein, sadly admonish us that he is unfit to be the depository of this high trust. This, however, is merely personal, and goes to the personal qualifications of Gen. Harrison for the Presidency.

No man should be placed in the Presidency, save it be as the representative of some principles. To bestow the office as the reward of either civil or military services, without regard to the political principles maintained by the candidate, is at war with the genius of this government.

Now, sir, I am wholly unable to satisfy myself with regard to Gen. Harrison's views, touching all the great questions now at issue before the American people. Mr. Rives, in his late letter to the people of Virginia, took the ground, and reasoned with considerable plausibility, that General Harrison is opposed to a National Bank.—Such, surely, is not his political attitude before the people of Kentucky. Upon a question of such vital interest—the question of the currency—that which has so deeply agitated this nation, it is lamentable to think, that a candidate for the Presidency, should keep his opinions so shrouded in mystery, that in one section of the Union, he may be quoted on one side, and the reverse in another. Yet, candor compels the admission, that not only upon this, but upon nearly every subject that enters into the contest, is there a like degree of reserve exhibited.

I will not charge Gen. Harrison with being tainted with that political malady, which, if it ever takes firm hold upon our system, dissolves this Union, as surely as that there now exists a slave population. I will not impute to him this monstrous sin, for which, if he be guilty, no atonement can be had in the splendor of his military deeds, or in the purity of his past life. But if his friends, with his consent, deem it right to "make no further declaration of principles for the public eye," then is he morally responsible for giving countenance to this fanatical sect. His conduct does most painfully contrast with the magnanimous position of his opponent—the President of the U. S.—who has alienated many of his Northern friends by his stern fidelity to the South and West upon this momentous question. I speak to facts which the country knows. Party feeling and inexcusable ignorance may deny to him this honorable need of praise, but the day is not distant, when the judgment of this nation will be awarded, unbiassed by the transitory influences of an excited political struggle. Upon a subject of this character, involving so much of feeling, and pregnant with so much of calamity and woe, I choose my station on his side, who offers himself an impassable barrier to these mad fanatics, rather than on his side, whose position is at least equivocal, and in regard to which he maintains a mysterious silence.

With my limited powers of observation, I can see no triumph to be achieved by the election of General Harrison, but the simple substitution of one set of officers for another. This might be desirable, did it involve nothing more. But the country ought not to be invoked to put its trust in General Harrison, when he is not willing to put his trust in the country, but appeals to its 'generous confidence' in advance, as is distinctly avowed by his accredited committee.

In coming to this conclusion, it gives me great pain to part from those with whom I have been politically associated. I feel deeply indebted to the county of Fayette for its repeated manifestations of kindness to me, and have endeavored to pay off the debt by a faithful application of my time and attention to its interests and character. I trust that the debt is paid—if not—very well aware am I, that this announcement of my conclusions will perhaps, forever, put it out of my power to do so. If, however, the account is balanced, we shall part in peace.

R. N. WICKLIFFE.

(From the Augusta (Geo.) Constitutionalist.)

The political independence and political high-mindedness of Col. Henry G. Lamar, is again exemplified, in the letter from him to the editors of the Georgia Journal, published in this day's paper.

Macon, May 17, 1840.

To the Editors of the Georgia Journal:—

Gentlemen:—As we are destined to dissolve the political connection, for a time at least, which has heretofore united us, you will be pleased to allow me to give a few of the prominent reasons, out of many, which have induced me to dissent from the correctness of the conclusion to which you and a large party of the State Rights party have arrived. My objections to Mr. Van Buren are of an anterior date to that of most of the State Rights party. When instructed by a portion of it, in primary assemblies, to repair to Baltimore, to vote for his nomination for the Vice Presidency, I could not

consistently with my views of propriety discharge this proffered trust, and I refused to do so; and he could not now command my suffrage, unless I followed your example in making a virtue of necessity in selecting between a choice of evils. Forced to that alternative, I should have no hesitancy in determining in his favor. My predilections for him, therefore, have had no influence on my mind in arriving at the conclusion that General Harrison is totally unfit and unworthy of the Presidency of the United States; and that under no existing state of facts can I support or advance his claims to that office. He is in favor of a Protective Tariff, of Internal Improvements by the Federal Government, and recognizes in that government the power to incorporate, and with it to establish, a National Bank. So devoutly was he in favor of the Proclamation and Force Bill, as to say that Gen. Jackson, in issuing the former, acquired more imperishable fame for himself, and achieved more benefit for the country, than had been accomplished by the memorable and gallant victory at New Orleans.

Superadded to this, he is an emancipator in principle, and holds the Federal and latitudinous doctrine, (fraught with pernicious effects to the Southern interest, and hostility to the true principles of the State Rights party,) that Congress, by the consent of the States, can appropriate the public domain and the surplus revenue to the manumission of our slaves—thereby, not only compromising our rights, by the employment of our own means to the purchase of our own property, but making the will of a majority in Congress and the concurrent consent of the States, a rule for the interpretation of the Constitution, instead of appealing to that instrument for its own meaning. No State Rights man, except he be one only in shallow profession and name, will recognize such constructive powers in the Federal Government, and there is no statesman of any party so ineffably stupid, but who will concede the principle, that if Congress has not the right to exercise this appropriating power without the consent of the States, their acquiescence, concurrence or consent, cannot confer it.

He was nominated by a combination of the old Federal, Anti-Masonic, and Anti-Slavery parties, the latter infusing so much of its feelings into the deliberations of the Convention, as to defeat the admitted superior claims of the Hon. Henry Clay. He is now placed under the guardian care of a committee, who deny to him the privilege of answering, and who refuse to answer for him, such questions as would give the constituency a knowledge of his present opinions and principles, that they might be held and adjudged as a guarantee or pledge for his future political course. This Anti-Republican position, I have no doubt is assumed from the conviction that the discordant materials and political combinations which have been formed to promote his success (if he answered at all) would be dissolved by the people, as he could not so answer as to conciliate the feelings and prevent the forfeiture of the support of many who nominated him, and, at the same time, propitiate and preserve the support of many State Rights men, who regard principle more than men, and the love of country more than the love of office. The State Rights party, so far from participating in his nomination in their Convention held in Milledgeville in December last, repudiated it. The State Rights Editors, with but few exceptions, united with you in sustaining this attitude of the party; and, until a few weeks past, nothing but withering denunciations of the principles of the nominee were scarcely to be seen and read. The concurrent opinions were, that his political principles were obnoxious in theory, and would be not only pernicious, but fatally destructive to every Southern interest in practice. But in those few weeks "through what new scenes and changes have we passed; the wide, the unbounded prospect lies before us, but shadows, clouds and darkness, rest upon it." As to the past, its reminiscences are of no avail, as the black cockade principles of the administration of the elder Adams, and the Panama Mission and Light-houses of the skies of the son, have collapsed, with that "period of time where the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," and Gen. Harrison is now called by his supporters here, a Republican of the Jeffersonian school—notwithstanding the Hon. E. A. Nesbit stated in his address to them, that the high priest of Federalism, Daniel Webster, would or could select his place in the cabinet, and with the knowledge (if Mr. Webster is to be believed) that Gen. Harrison was selected to bear the flag around which Mr. Webster and those who agree with him are to rally. Thus we have unmasked all disguise in the extraordinary efforts now making to carry the State Rights party into the embraces, and close fellowship and communion with the old Federal, and other fragments of parties, with whom there have heretofore existed no identity of principle, sympathy, or feeling.

And to arrive at the climax of political inconsistency, such Nullifiers as Colquitt, Cooper and Black, and those who agree with them, are to be proscribed and denounced as apostates from the State Rights creed, because they will not go for the establishment of a National

Bank, shout Hosannas to the praise of a superannuated old man, and join in the funeral dirge, in order, if possible, to consign to oblivion, the melancholy visitations of the truth, that the *State Rights party* once was.

Respectfully, your obedient servant,
H. G. LAMAR.

LAST, and not least, is a Voice from Indiana!
ENGLISH PRAIRIE, Steuben Co. Ind. }
May 18, 1840. }

In regard to political matters, I have to inform you that "a change has come o'er the spirit of my dream." It is not the work of a moment, nor of a day—nor the sudden impulse of passion—but the result of cool deliberation, and calm inquiry into the principles of the two parties into which our people are divided. As you well know, I have ever been warmly opposed to the present and preceding Administrations of the General Government, and have done all I could, in an honorable way, to effect a change. In the furtherance of this object, I attended the great convention at Indianapolis, last winter, to nominate a candidate for Governor of this State, and to respond to the doings of the Harrisburg Convention. It was while here that my political faith was first shaken.

Instead of an open, frank, and direct avowal of principles we were compelled to gaze upon a spectacle, alike insulting to the intelligence, and degrading to the character of the American people. In vain did the honest and devoted men of the party call for this avowal—in vain did they ask a chart by which to guide the political vessel in the coming storm. They were answered with banners and canoes—hard cider and log cabins—drunkenness and revelling. Nothing was heard on either hand, but denunciations of the Administration of the General Government, and the singing of songs. From this convention I returned home, my mind wavering and full of doubts.

To investigate the charges against the Administration, and the objects and intentions of the Whig party, was my first business. The public expenditures first engaged my attention. Instead of an increase from \$13,000,000 in 1824, to 39,000,000 in 1839, as asserted by the Whigs, I found it to be from \$32,000,000 in 1824, to \$37,000,000 in 1839, by examining the several annual reports of the Secretary of the Treasury. The next was the public course of Mr. Van Buren, about which so much has been said and written. And ascertaining, from authentic sources, that instead of being opposed to, he was an ardent supporter of the last war—that instead of being hostile to, he was the first to suggest, and the foremost to carry into execution, the proposition for the extension of the right of suffrage in New York: could I longer look upon the leaders of a party who would knowingly and falsely prefer such charges without contempt, and indignation, at the imposition attempted to be palmed off upon us?

Then came the Oswego correspondence. General Harrison had surrendered himself into the keeping of John C. Wright, one of the most bitter revilers of Jefferson and the old Democratic party. Could I, who had ever been Democratic in my feelings, look calmly, and without disgust, upon such a movement as this? It told me but too plainly the character of the administration which should have General Harrison for its head, and John C. Wright and Daniel Webster for its chief advisers.

And then I examined the Independent Treasury bill. After reading it through carefully, (which I must confess I never had done before,) all its odiousness vanished. It stood before me a plain, simple, proposition for the collection, safe-keeping, and disbursement of the public revenue, stripped of all the imaginary evils with which the Whig party had invested it. Comparing it with the Constitution, and the laws passed by the first Congress upon this subject, it now appears to me to be the only system recognized by our fathers for the management of the people's funds.

In short, finding that the party to which I was attached would make no avowal of their principles, but were courting, by their silence and duplicity, every faction or sect which could yield them the least support however opposite in their characters, I left them. I could endure humbuggery and deception no longer. They are not the political weapons which I had been accustomed to use. I shall hereafter lend my aid, feeble though it be, and give my vote to Van Buren, Johnson, and the Independent Treasury.

One of my neighbors, Thomas Flint, has also become a convert to Democracy, for the same reasons which produced a change in my mind.

CALEB TILLOTSON.

P. S.—No one doubts but that the Democratic party will succeed in electing General Howard Governor by a large majority. This seems to be admitted on all hands in this region.

C. T.

(From the Lancaster (Ohio) Eagle.)
POPULAR READING.

SCENE—"Log Cabin" at North Bend—Gen. Harrison at the window breathing fresh air—an Old Soldier attempting to communicate with him—"the committee," John C. Wright, David Gwynne, and O. M. Spencer, in front of the Cabin—Wright with the key in his hand,

who, in their hurry to prevent an interview with the General, neglected to return the spigot into the barrel from which they had been drinking.

The following dialogue is said to have occurred between the Old Soldier and "The Committee."

Old Soldier. Does Gen. Harrison live here, gentlemen?

The Committee. Yes.

Old S. I wish to see him.

The Com. You can't see him.

Old S. Why, gentlemen? I hope he is not sick.

The Com. No, the General is not sick. He never was in better health in his life; and you may tell every body, that he is just as capable of attending to business as he was 20 years ago.

Old S. Then why can't I see him, gentlemen? Oh! I suppose may-be the General has company; some of the big bugs from Cincinnati: I can wait till they are gone. I'll just take a seat on that stump there; for I wouldn't like to miss seeing the old General after walking so far out of my way.

The Com. The General is neither sick nor engaged with company; but you can't see him.

[Here one of "the committee" looking around saw the old General peeping through a window of the Cabin where a pane was out, and begs him—"dear General, just keep out of sight a few minutes—we'll soon get rid of this fellow; but if he sees you peeping in this way, it will tell badly." "Well, Wright," says the General, "I wish the election was over, for I'm tired of being 'cooped.'"]

Old S. Why, gentlemen, I don't know what to make of this. I am an old friend of General Harrison, and the people up in my part of the country are saying a great many hard things about him, and I thought while I was down in these parts, I'd call and see him for old times sake, and just have his authority to contradict all the slanders, his enemies are putting about against him. You may depend, gentlemen, it would be of service to the old gentleman, if I could see him and talk to him about matters.

The Com. Friend, any thing you wish to say to Gen. H. you can say to us, and we can answer for him.

Old S. But, gentlemen, I'd rather hear the General answer for himself.

The Com. That, friend, is what the old General don't do now.

Old S. That's queer. Why don't he answer for himself?

The Com. Because his friends determined that it was not "politic" that he should, and appointed a "Committee" to answer for him.

Old S. Well, gentlemen, who are the Committee?

The Com. We three.

Old S. Well, then, gentlemen, if you are authorized to answer for the General, be so good as to tell me whether the General is an Abolitionist or not, and whether, if elected, he will veto any bill for abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia.

The Com. These are questions, friend, we do not answer.

Old S. Why how's this! You say you don't allow the old General to answer for himself, but you answer for him, and when I ask you only two simple questions, you tell me that you don't answer those questions! The General don't and you won't.

The Com. As you are a friend of Gen. Harrison, you may tell you that the questions you have asked are those very questions, which General Harrison's friends don't think it "politic" for him or for us to answer.

Old S. Why not? Mr. Van Buren has answered them.

The Com. Yes; and the bigger fool he—for he lost all chance of getting a single Abolition vote by it.

Old S. Oh! ho!—that's the game, is it?

The Com. (chuckling and slapping the old soldier on his back.) Lay low and keep dark! that's the game, my old lad of wax. Come, take a glass of cider to the old General's health and success. He's the soldier's friend.

Old S. I'd rather take a glass of Old Rye, if it's the same thing to you, gentlemen.

The Com. We are teetotallers, friend; and the General don't give his friends any thing but hard cider.

Old S. Well, that's a change! The General didn't use to like that sort of stuff; but he's getting old, and I s'pose the Doctors prescribe it. I know, however, as an old soldier, that it's very dangerous to change front in the face of the enemy. He'd better mind how he follows them Doctors' prescriptions, or they'll kill him.

The Com. Friend, it was not the Doctors, but "the committee" that prescribed hard cider for the General. They thought it the most "politic" drink for him, till after the election.

Old S. Well, the old man may drink what he pleases; but you don't turn my flank, gentlemen, with any such pop-guns as that; and, if the General aint mightily changed since I knew him, and you'll just let me offer him the mouth of my canteen, you'll soon see whether he's a teetotaller, as you call it. Come, gentlemen, just let me go in, and take a shake-hands with the old man—say bowdy do and good-bye, and give him a drop

from my canteen. I'll promise you to say nothing to him about politics.

The Com. As an old soldier, you ought to know, that orders must be obeyed. Now, we were put here to guard the old General from talking to any body and every body. If we let you in to see him, others will expect to be admitted, and then we might as well let him go at large.

Old S. Well, why shouldn't he go at large? It's a free country, and the old man's arrived at years of discretion, I suppose, by this time.

The Com. You said you were a friend of Gen. Harrison. Now, if you are, you won't press this matter; for, you know he is old now, and if he were allowed to talk to every body, he might injure his chances of election; for, he is losing his memory, and is apt, as all old men are, to forget to-day, what he said yesterday—and if he were to tell one of these Loco Focos to-day, that he was in favor of the Abolition scheme, and another to-morrow, that he was against it, they would be sure to compare notes, and expose the old gentleman. We hope you are satisfied now, friend.

Old S. "Satisfied?" Yes, I am satisfied, that my old General must be mightily changed for the worse, since he allows himself to be cooped up here, and forbidden to speak to his friends. "Satisfied," did you say? Yes, I am satisfied, that the man who can't be trusted to answer for himself, and speak out his opinions openly on all subjects and to all men, is not fit to be trusted with the Government.

The Com. What matters it, friend, whether General Harrison is fit for the Presidency or not, so we elect him? He will have the ablest men in the country in his cabinet.

Old S. Then we had better elect one of them, and let the old General stay at home. But who do you mean by the ablest men in the country?

The Com. For instance, Webster will be Secretary of State, and Rives Secretary of the Treasury, and—

Old S. That's enough, gentlemen; you needn't go any further. Webster's enough for me. You couldn't make the dose more nauseous even by throwing in Rives. A Hartford Convention Federalist, who voted against all supplies for the army during the war, and rejoiced in the victories of the British, ought surely to be enough for an old Democrat and soldier of the last war, without the make-weight of Rives. Pah! Ipecac and Tartar Emetic! Hard cider and sour beer!—It's a dose for a nigger.

John C. Wright, (one of "the committee.") You old rascal! how dare you say any thing against Mr. Webster? The last war was an unjust, unrighteous, unconstitutional and unholy war, and Mr. Webster was right in opposing it; and I would have voted against supplies till every such rascally Democrat as you are, had starved. You a friend of General Harrison, and abuse Daniel Webster! Why, you old scamp, was'n't General Harrison in the last war, and isn't he a friend of Mr. Webster?

Old S. I say, stranger, what may your name be?

Gwynne and Spencer, (the other two of "the committee.") Don't tell him your name! For General Harrison's sake, don't tell him! For the sake of the cause, don't tell him your name!

John C. Wright. I will tell him. Gen. Harrison and his friends must not think to use me and be ashamed to own me. I will tell him. My name is JOHN C. WRIGHT. (In an under tone and great passion.)—'Shlood! I'll tell him all about myself!

Gwynne and Spencer. Oh don't! we beseech you be calm. You have done mischief enough in telling your name. Remember we were put here to guard the party against the indiscretions of Gen. H. Let us not commit any ourselves.

J. C. Wright, (still muttering in passion.) I cared not what he insinuated about Harrison; but I will not hear Webster abused by any vulgar Democrat. I will tell him. (Addressing the old soldier aloud.)—I am John C. Wright, who supported old John Adams, who supported the younger Adams. I am an old Federalist, and I don't care who knows it. General Harrison knows it, and likes me the better for it. I formerly edited a Federal paper in New York. I was afterwards a Federal member of Congress from Ohio, and voted for J. Q. Adams for President, when the election went to the House. I was afterwards a Federal Judge in Ohio, and am now Editor of the Federal Gazette in Cincinnati, and one of the committee to answer for Gen. Harrison! You know now, I hope, you old vagabond, who I am.

Gwynne and Spencer, (aside.) Here's a kettle of fish! That old soldier will tell this, wherever he goes. Gen. Harrison couldn't have done worse himself! The fool! Why couldn't he lay dark about Webster and Federalism!

Old S., (talking to himself.) John C. Wright! and is it possible that Harrison is put under the care of Jno. C. Wright? Well, well, then he has got low indeed.

J. C. Wright, (overhearing him.) What's that you say?

Old S. Oh! nothing! A whistling woman and a crowing hen, they used to say, ought to be hanged; but I believe you are only a "cackling hen."

John C. Wright, (trembling and in an under tone.) I do believe it is old George Kremer in disguise! This is no place for me. I'll just step into the cabin, and leave Gwynne and Spencer to manage him.

Gwynne and Spencer. There goes the rascal. He has got into a scrape, and now backs out. It's just like him, and if he don't get the General into a scrape that he can't out of, it will be a wonder.

Old S. Well, good bye, gentlemen. Please tell the General, that when I hear he is let out, and allowed to speak for himself, I'll call again.

Gwynne and Spencer. Friend, you must not go away offended. We assure you, that when Gen. Harrison is elected President, he will always be glad to see his friends. Now come, take a glass of cider, and let us part friends.

Old S. I am not a beggar, and if Gen. Harrison does not choose to admit me into his house, he might refrain from insulting me by an offer of old clothes and cold victuals. The General may keep his hard cider for those who will take his bounty. I don't enlist with him for this campaign.

Gwynne and Spencer. But, friend, we pray you not to go away offended with Gen. H. "The Committee" alone are to blame for every thing he has done since they had charge of him.

Old S. I am disgusted, not offended. I am mortified and ashamed that any of my countrymen should at this early period of our history, have so far lost their self-respect as to countenance this miserable imposture. What! set up a man for President of these U. States, whom you are obliged to shut up here, and keep from speaking to any one, for fear he should betray his unfitness for the office!

Gwynne and Spencer. You are mistaken, friend.—We shut him up to save his life; for he receives as many as five letters a day, one day with another, and it would kill him to answer them.

Old S. I thought you told me a while ago, that "he never was in better health in his life, and as capable of attending to business as he was 20 years ago." No! no! gentlemen, you told me the truth in the beginning—"that his memory was failing him, and that he might tell a Loco Foco to-day, that he was in favor of Abolition, and another one to-morrow, that he was against it, and thus expose himself."

Gwynne and Spencer. We said that, when we thought you were a friend of the General.

Old S. So I was his friend, and even after all I've seen and heard here, I would be more his friend, than to coddle him up here, and put a guard over him. I am getting old, too; but, if I should live to a second childhood, I hope no family will take care of me, and not turn me over to strangers to speculate on.

Gwynne and Spencer. We hope we part friends.

Old S. Gentlemen, I leave you more in sorrow than in anger. I suppose you think you are doing nothing more than your duty to your Party, while I think you are disgracing your Country. But, gentlemen, I have no occasion for a "committee" or guard at my door, and if ever you should be passing through the county of Hocking, where I live, you will find no lock upon my door, nor the string of the latch pulled in.

RICHMOND, Va., SATURDAY, JUNE 13.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.—MR. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Views of the Presidential Election.

Address to the People of Virginia.—[No. 4.]

NATIONAL INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

We now call your attention, fellow-citizens, to the specifications, which define the Federal position of W. H. Harrison. We will show him by his own votes and acts to be what he is in theory, a latitudinous Constitutionist of the loosest school. Upon the vast subject of Internal Improvement, he differs with the whole school of Virginia Republicans, with Jefferson, Madison, Roane, Barbour and all the fathers of the Church. He differs, the whole breadth of the horizon, from all the State Rights principles of Virginia.

The first act, that comes up on this question, on which we find the vote of Gen. Harrison recorded, is the celebrated bill of 1817, to "set apart and pledge, as a fund for Internal Improvement, the Bonus and United States' share of the dividends of the National Bank"—Messrs. Webster, Pickering and the Federalists generally supported it. Mr. John Randolph and the Republicans opposed it. It passed Congress, and went up to Mr. Madison for his signature; but who can forget the ever memorable message which he sent back with the bill on the very last day of his administration (the 3d March, 1817.) He returned it with his *veto*, denying the power of the Federal Government, over the system of Internal Improvement. But Harrison, and Webster and Pickering still cling to it; and, fortunately for the good of the country and the safety of the Constitution, it was lost.

The next step in the process is a still more memorable one. We have before us an official copy of the

Journal of the Senate of Ohio, commencing on the 6th December, 1819—to which Gen. W. H. Harrison had been transferred. It abounds with monstrous, unconstitutional propositions, which emanated from the teeming brain of this Federal candidate. But we confine ourselves for the present to his schemes of Internal Improvement:

On the 9th December, "Mr. Harrison moved the adoption of two resolutions, instructing our members in Congress to procure the passage of laws modifying the Tariff on imported articles, and for the encouragement of domestic manufactures, and Internal Improvement, which were read and ordered to lie on the table."

On the 14th December, the Senate took up the Report of the Committee of the Whole, upon the "resolutions respecting the Tariff on imported articles, and relative to internal improvements," and after adopting the 1st Resolution for the "encouragement and protection of domestic manufactures," (for which, of course General Harrison voted,) the Senate proceeded "To agree to the resolution relative to internal improvements and domestic manufactures, to wit:

"Resolved, That in the present state of pecuniary embarrassment amongst the people, it is unwise and impolitic for the government to pay off the public debt more rapidly than the obligations it may have come under to its creditors may require, and that any surplus in the treasury would be more usefully employed in the internal improvement of the country by roads and canals and in the support and encouragement of domestic manufactures: which motion to agree was decided in the affirmative: Yeas 24, nays 2—(Gen. Harrison voting in the affirmative.)

"The Senate then came to the following resolution, on motion of Mr. Harrison:

"Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested to use their exertions to procure the passage of laws, embracing the principles recommended in the foregoing resolutions.

Is there a Virginia Republican, who does not start with astonishment and indignation at such a policy on the part of W. H. Harrison? Here, forsooth, he projects a grand system of Internal Improvements, to be prosecuted with the very money which is drawn from the pockets of the Southern people, and moreover withheld from the public creditors. Here we have that most singular of all doctrines, following as a rational deduction!—that a national debt is a national blessing. Gen. H. is not for paying it off as the resources of the Treasury would permit—but by encouraging its continuance, and of course its eventual augmentation, he wishes to devote the funds of the nation to a great system of Internal Improvements, and the encouragement of manufactures, where they would be "more usefully employed." Yet this is the politician, whose measures are so much at war with the letter of our Constitution and the whole genius of our Institutions, whom the Virginia Oppositionists are so anxious to foist upon us as the President of the U. S. Place him there, and we should indeed have the change, which Mr. Webster so ardently desires—but may "Providence and the People" protect us from such changes. We ask no such change of men and "least of all such changes as these men would bring us."

But let us descend to further specifications, drawn from the proceedings in Congress. In 1825 Mr. Van Buren laid the following resolutions before the Senate:

"Resolved, That Congress does not possess the power to make roads and canals within the respective States. Such was his creed—but what was Gen. Harrison's opinion? On the 13th March, 1818, a series of general resolutions were argued in the H. of R.—On the 1st Resolution, viz:

"That Congress has power under the Constitution, to appropriate money for the construction of post roads, military and other roads, and of canals, and for the improvement of water courses"—(ayes 90, noes 75—Harrison among the former.)

2d Resolution, "That Congress has power under the Constitution, to construct post roads and military roads, provided that private property be not taken for public use without just compensation"—(82 yeas, 84 noes—Harrison among the yeas.)

3d Resolution—"That Congress has power, under the Constitution to construct roads and canals necessary for commerce between the States, provided that private property be not taken for public purposes without just compensation"—(ayes 71, noes 95,—Harrison among the yeas.)

4th Resolution—"That Congress has power under the Constitution, to construct canals for military purposes, provided that no private property be taken for any such purposes, without just compensation being made therefor"—(ayes 81, nays 83—Harrison among the former.)

This is indeed going the whole. The power here assumes almost every shape, in which the question could well be presented—Upon all these resolutions, Gen. Harrison was found in its favor; and indeed he uniformly voted in pursuance of these principles.

*This Journal will be deposited at the office of the Enquirer next week, for the purpose of enabling any man to test the authenticity of these extracts.

Again! The present candidates happened to meet upon the floor of the Senate at a subsequent period. Never were two politicians more perfectly distinguished from each other, than by the contrariety of their votes upon this great subject. But we are saved the necessity of consulting the archives for ourselves, by the reminiscences, which the Nashville Republican, an opponent of Mr. Van Buren, brought up four years ago. Judge White was then the favorite candidate of the Nashville Editor; now he has transferred his allegiance to Gen. Harrison. It may strengthen the confidence of the Federal party in the following quotations, when it knows them to have come from the pen of a friend:

The Mobile Register says, that "The most striking part of the Nashville article which displays its secret purpose is, that in every vote imputed as a sin to Mr. Van Buren, on the subject of Internal Improvement and the Cumberland Road, while Judge White was in the Senate, he and Judge White voted together. There is not an exception, except the case of appropriating money for removing the obstructions in the Savannah river be one—and that is in favor of the strictness of Mr. Van Buren's constitutional notions, for he voted against the bill, and Judge White for it. We happen to have a record of most of the very votes on the occasions quoted, and we will cite a few, to show with what coolness of assurance, this advocate of Judge White attacks Mr. Van Buren, for voting precisely as Judge White did.

"The Nashville Republican says, 'In 1826, Mr. Van Buren voted against the causing a survey to be made of the country between Apalachicola and Mississippi rivers, with a view to the formation of an inland navigation between the same.'

"On this question the yeas were 16, nays 26,—among the nays were Macon, Randolph, Berrien, Hayne, Branch, VAN BUREN, WHITE; [Among the yeas, Gen. Harrison!]

"March 20, of the same year, Mr. Van Buren voted to strike out from the Military Appropriation Bill the first section, to wit: 'For the continuation of the Cumberland Road, \$100,000, which shall be replaced out of the fund received,' &c.

"On that question (for striking out the appropriation) the yeas were 15, the nays 21, among the yeas were all the names above mentioned, including VAN BUREN and WHITE, side by side;—among the noes, Gen. Harrison.

"On the same day the Republican continues to complain, he, (MR. VAN BUREN) 'voted to strike out an appropriation of \$50,000 for the same purpose.'

"The motion to strike out was made by Mr. Cobb of Georgia, and was defeated by a vote of 13 to 19—among the yeas were the well known Southern names before quoted and again, side by side,—VAN BUREN and WHITE—Gen. Harrison still in the negative, and voting for the Cumberland Road.

"On the 6th of April, complains the Republican, 'he voted against a bill for removing the obstructions in the Savannah river—the vote was 36 yeas and 3 noes—Macon, Tazewell and VAN BUREN. There he differed from Judge WHITE—but in good State Rights company. Judge White voted for the appropriation with General Harrison.

"On the 22d April, Mr. VAN BUREN voted against a bill authorizing a subscription of stock in the Louisville and Portland Canal Company.

"This bill nevertheless passed the Senate, yeas 20, nays 15—among the nays, all the Southern names quoted before, who voted at all, and in addition, Van Buren and White; among the yeas, Gen. Harrison.

"Mr. Van Buren on this occasion made a short speech, to the effect as stated in the National Intelligencer of that day, that 'the aid of the Federal Government could only be afforded to objects of improvement in three ways; by making a road or canal, and assuming jurisdiction, by making a road or canal without assuming jurisdiction, leaving it to the States; or by making an appropriation without doing either. In his opinion the Government had no right to do either.'

"April 28th,—Mr. Van Buren voted against a survey of certain routes between Baltimore and Philadelphia, for a post-road.

"This was a joint resolution. The votes were, yeas 19, noes 13; among the noes, all the leading Southern Senators, with VAN BUREN and WHITE, side by side; among the yeas stood General Harrison. The resolution was adopted by the casting vote of Mr. CALHOUN.

"The next specification of the Republican, is dated May 10th, in the same year. 'Mr. Van Buren voted against a bill granting a certain quantity of land to the State of Illinois, for the purpose of opening a canal, &c.

"The votes here were a tie again; yeas 17, noes 17. The Southern Senators voted in the negative—and with them, VAN BUREN and WHITE—Gen. Harrison voting in the affirmative. Mr. CALHOUN'S casting vote was in the negative.

"The next subject of reproach is, Mr. VAN BUREN'S vote on the 30th January, '27, against constructing a military road from Fort Smith to Natchitoches. Here, as before, VAN BUREN and WHITE voted together in the negative, and Harrison in the affirmative.

"The next vote objected to is, the vote against subscribing for stock in an Ohio turnpike company, upon which we have not the ayes and noes—but, admit that Van Buren voted *no*, as did Judge White, probably—Harrison spoke in favor of the bill.

"A vote against the Cumberland Road is next in order of these Nashville objections. On the 27th of Feb., 1827, it was moved to strike the Cumberland Road appropriation from the military appropriation bill. Ayes 15; noes 27. Among the ayes, as usual, VAN BUREN and WHITE, together,—among the noes, of course, General Harrison. The same day, on the motion to strike out the sum of \$30,000, for surveys in aid of Internal Improvements, it was lost, ayes 19, noes 26. The 19 reproached by the Nashville organ of the White party—consisted of the unanimous vote of the Senators from the States of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and New York, and one Senator each from Delaware, New Hampshire and Maine. (Messrs. Ridgely, Chandler and Woodbury.) Here VAN BUREN and WHITE voted together, and Harrison against them,—on test questions on the subject of Internal Improvement.

"The last specification of the Nashville Republican, against Mr. Van Buren, is, that he voted on the 1st March, 1827, against a resolution for making surveys in view of continuing the Cumberland Road. We cannot find that such a resolution was offered upon that day—but we find that a BILL for the repair, &c., of the road, was carried in the Senate, and that WHITE and VAN BUREN, voted against it, and General Harrison for it.

"These are all the votes of Mr. VAN BUREN on the subject of Internal Improvement and the Cumberland Road,—cited by this honest White editor, while VAN BUREN and White were together in the U. S. Senate.—On the only occasion on which their votes were not on the same side,—Judge WHITE voted *for*, and Mr. V. Buren *against* an appropriation of money for improving the navigation of a water course. It is found that Gen. Harrison, had always been a patron of the Clay School of appropriations for every sort of Internal Improvement; and, therefore, Mr. VAN BUREN, for being of the opposite faith, is to be denounced as an enemy of the West. Hence this outcry—this hunting up of votes for which his friends applaud him; to create a Western prejudice against him.

We might enlarge this schedule, if necessary—by Gen. H.'s vote against any restriction upon surveys for roads and canals, in '28, &c. &c. But, it is not necessary. The whole current of his votes is against your principles. Gen. H. has voted for this power in "its furthest and worst extent."

But how stands it with Mr. Van Buren? He is known to be opposed to the whole system of Internal Improvement by the Federal Government, upon Constitutional grounds. See his letter to the Shocco Springs Committee of North Carolina, 1832—also his authorized statement in the letter of Mr. Butler to Hugh A. Garland; the resolutions introduced by him in Dec., 1825, in the Senate of the U. S., declaring, among other things, "that Congress does not possess the power to make roads within the respective States;" his vote the same session against the appropriation to the Louisville Canal. And on the 15th of May, of the same year, on the proposition to subscribe to the Dismal Swamp Canal, he said "he would not vote for the bill, for he did not believe that the Government possessed the Constitutional power to make them." Also his letter to Sherrod Williams in 1836.

The only complaint which has been made against him is, as to his vote on the Cumberland road bill.—That road was sustained by Mr. Jefferson on grounds peculiar to it, growing out of the disposition of the territory of the United States through which it passed. But Mr. Van Buren has publicly admitted that he regretted that vote, and, in point of fact, he has uniformly voted against such improvements by the General Government ever since. We call the attention of the people to the following extract:

"Mr. Van Buren is by no means certain that in this respect he himself has been altogether without fault. At the very first session after he came into the Senate, the knowledge of the perpetual drain that the Cumberland road was destined to prove upon the public Treasury, unless some means were taken to prevent it, and a sincere desire to go at all times, as far as he could consistently with the Constitution, to aid in the improvement and promote the prosperity of the western country, had induced him, without full examination, to vote for a provision authorizing the collection of toll on this road. The affair of the Cumberland road, in respect to its reference to the constitutional powers of this government, is a matter entirely *sub judice*. It was authorized during the administration of Mr. Jefferson—grew out of the disposition of the territory of the United States, and had the consent of the States through which it passed. He has never heard an explanation of the subject (although it has been a matter of constant reference) that has been satisfactory to his mind. All that he can say is, that if the question were again presented to him, he would vote against it; and that his regret for having done otherwise, would be greater, had not Mr. Monroe, much to his credit, put his veto upon the bill; and were it not the only vote in the course of seven years service, which the most fastidious critic can torture into an inconsistency with the principles which Mr. Van Buren professed to maintain, and in the justice of which, he is every day more and more confirmed."—Note to Mr. V. B.'s speech in relation to the right of the Vice President to call to order, &c.

But, place Gen. Harrison in the Presidential Chair—and you may expect the iron age of Jno. Q. Adams to be

brought back upon you.—You may expunge the benefits which Gen. Jackson's administration has rendered in this particular. The Maysville veto may have been given in vain. The power over Internal Improvement will find no check in the scruples of a Federal President. Gen. H. goes for the power in every shape which it may assume. He has advocated its exercise without stint or restriction, over river, road and canal. All that he will want would be, money enough to carry out all his schemes—revenue sufficient to extend the power of the Federal Government over the whole territory of the States. Unite these expenditures of the revenue with his favorite system of a Tariff, and he will have money sufficient. You need have no surplus to distribute—and you will be sure to have no Tariff reduced.

But, in our next address, we shall lay before you his opinions on the Tariff—and we will satisfy you, as we attempted to do in 1836, and in pretty much the same words, that this Federal candidate is entirely opposed to Virginia, on that ground also. We will show you, in a word, that his views of the powers of the General Government, both in the raising and expending of your money, are irreconcilable with all the views of Virginia.

§5. In Views No. 3, 1st sentence, Gen. W. H. Harrison, "a Federalist, according to the testimony of John Adams"—it should have been printed "John Randolph."

DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATION.

In pursuance of notice, the Republican party of the City of Richmond convened at "Democratic Hall," on Saturday evening, the 30th May, 1840, for the purpose of forming a "Democratic Association." The meeting was organized by the appointment of Stafford H. Parker as Chairman, and Wm. F. Watson as Secretary.—On motion of Thomas Ritchie, the roll was called; 91 members were ascertained to be present. (Several members absent, and others entered their names, during the session.) The Report of the Committee appointed to draft a Constitution for the government of the Association was taken up for consideration, which resulted in the adoption of the following:

The Democratic Association of Richmond has been formed for the purpose of uniting its Democracy, and producing concert and efficiency in their action. The unparalleled exertions of our opponents and their unjustifiable stratagems demand our vigilance, and call upon every lover of the principles of Virginia to resist and defeat them. The members of this association believe, that the time has come when zeal and energy should assume the place of apathy and indolence, and they are resolved to put their shoulders to the wheel, and to use every honorable effort in support of the good old cause of Virginia Democracy. They make no professions of exclusive intelligence, nor of exclusive patriotism; but they do entertain and advocate the doctrines for which Thomas Jefferson struggled, and which they trust his native State will never abandon.

They have no confidence in the leaders of the present Whig party. They discover among them the most active leaders of the old Federal party who are, and have ever been, the most dangerous perverters of the Constitution of this Union, (and the Northern portion of whom are the deadliest adversaries of Southern rights.) The members of this association have no confidence in the capacity, or the political principles of Wm. H. Harrison. They have seen enough to satisfy them, that he too is a Federalist of the old school; and on the hateful subject of Abolition they distrust him. His political career has been marked by frequent departures from true Democratic principles; and the public expositions of his sentiments have displayed the most latitudinous and unstatesman-like views of our Federal compact; and since his nomination to the Presidency, he and his principal supporters have manifested a want of candor by a mysterious concealment of their opinions and doctrines, and a disregard for the feelings and a contempt for the intelligence of the American people, which cannot be too strongly condemned.

This Association will advocate the re-election of Martin Van Buren. He fearlessly and openly avows his principles, which are fortified and strengthened by their coincidence with the orthodox faith of the fathers of Democracy. He appeals with dignity and decorum to the reason and understanding of the People, and maintains his positions with the distinguished ability that characterizes a statesman. He has shown by his conduct in the Presidential chair, that in him the Southern people may well confide. He is opposed to every one of those measures by which a Northern majority, regardless of the Constitution, and supported by a Federal President, might crush and destroy the very existence of Southern Institutions. While he is at the head of this Government, we are well persuaded, that no unconstitutional bill will receive the Presidential sanction, and that no measure, conflicting with our rights, can obtain the character of a law.

Place Wm. H. Harrison in the Presidential Chair, and we shall again be subject to a National Bank; the burden of an oppressive Tariff may be again imposed upon us, and a Northern majority may again draw from Southern pockets the funds to carry on a wasteful system of Internal Improvements, in violation of the Constitution and against the expressed will of a majority of

the Southern People; the whole system tending directly to build up and increase the already overpowering supremacy of Northern influence.

The members of this Association will make no concealment of its designs, no insidious appeals to the passions or the prejudices of men; but relying on the power of truth as "the proper and sufficient antagonist to error," they will combat with the weapons of reason and argument, the heretical principles, by which they believe the leading measures of the Whig party have been, and will be, governed. They feel themselves called upon by their devotion to the cause of popular rights—by their attachment to the principles of their fathers—by their holy desire to preserve inviolate the integrity of the Constitution—by their hopes for the permanency of this Union, and the perpetuation of Republican Institutions, to oppose the election of Wm. H. Harrison, and to expose the evil tendency of the political creed of his supporters—and they pledge themselves to use every honorable exertion to promote and secure the re-election of Martin Van Buren.

To promote these objects by concert and mutual co-operation, we have formed ourselves into an Association, and adopt this Constitution for the guidance of our proceedings:—

1. This Association shall be known by the name and style of the Democratic Association of the city of Richmond and Manchester.

2. All citizens of Virginia advocating the re-election of Martin Van Buren may become members of this Association.

3. The members of this Association shall subscribe one dollar each towards defraying the expenses of this Institution.

4. The officers of the Association shall be a President, two Vice Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Committee of Three, and a Treasurer.

5. There shall be two Standing Committees, to consist of seven members each—it shall be the duty of the first Committee to prepare business for the Association, and of the second to procure members and subscriptions.

6. The officers and the Standing Committees shall be elected by the Association, voting *visa voce*, and a majority of the votes given, shall be necessary for an election.

7. Thirteen members shall form a quorum for the transaction of business.

8. The regular meetings of the Association, shall take place on every Saturday evening; but the President or Vice President may, upon the application of five members, call a meeting at any other time.

9. The Treasurer, before paying any appropriation, must receive a certificate to that effect from the President, Vice President, or acting Chairman, and the Recording Secretary.

10. The Constitution shall at all times be subject to amendment by a majority of any quorum, and shall be signed by all the members of the Association.

11. This Association shall continue in existence till the 1st December next.

On motion, the Association proceeded to the election of officers and committees. Wm. D. Wren was elected President—James Bosher and Stafford H. Parker, Vice Presidents.

Charles Ellis, jr., was elected Recording Secretary. Thos. Ritchie, James A. Seddon, and Wm. F. Watson were elected the Corresponding Committee.

John Womble was elected Treasurer.

In accordance with the requirement of the 5th article of the Constitution, the following gentlemen were elected as members of the Committees, viz:

First Committee—Washington Greenhow, Chairman; John H. Christian, Green Hall of Manchester, A. H. Powell, Robt. Poore, Daniel Trueheart, and John Cosby.

Second Committee—Henry Jones, Alexander Nott, Wm. Gray of Manchester, Daniel N. Jones, Robert T. Wicker, Newton Hill, and Hiram Bragg.

Thomas Ritchie offered the following resolution, which, at his instance, was laid on the table for consideration:

Resolved, That the Central Committee be respectfully requested to take into consideration the propriety of calling a Democratic Convention of the State in the course of the Summer, at Charlottesville.

The Report of the Committee in relation to the Hall was received, and the bill of expenses, incurred in fitting it up, ordered to be paid by the Treasurer—who was also authorized to receive voluntary subscriptions.

On motion, the Association adjourned to the next meeting in course (Saturday evening, the 6th June, at 8 o'clock.) S. H. PARKER, Chm'n.

WM. F. WATSON, Sec'y.

MARKETS—JUNE 11, 1840.

Tobacco—The market opened on Wednesday heavily, at a decline of 50 a 75 c. per hundred on the closing rates of last week—yesterday we observed no improvement, and the bidding went off with less spirit. We quote lugs, 34 a 34½; leaf, common, 41 a 45; middling, 61 a 71; and 88; good and fine, 81 a 91½; extra manufacturing qualities, 10 a 16½. Receipts and inspections continue heavy.

FLOUR—\$4½—sales.

WHEAT—85 to 90 cts.—none coming in.

WINFREE & WILLIAMSON.

Mr. Poinsett's Letter.

The humbug of a *Standing Army*, which the Federal Slangwangers conjured up at the last Spring election, must now give way before the light of truth. The able letter of Mr. Poinsett, which we have the pleasure of laying before our Readers this morning, will lay it in that receptacle of evil spirits—the Red Sea. How little it deserves even to be called a new and unprecedented scheme, from the principle of classification, and training in Camps of Discipline, will distinctly appear from the luminous comparison which Mr. P. draws between his own proposition and those of his predecessors in the War Office, of former Presidents, and of Committees of Congress, inclusive of General Harrison's, which goes a bow-shot beyond Mr. Poinsett's. The name of a *Standing Army* is preposterous; (and, in fact, this Scheme seemed best calculated, in the opinion of past Administrations, to prevent the necessity of a *Standing Army*), and yet in such contempt do the Federal party hold the understandings of the People, that they continue to insult them with the term. For instance, we have before us the Baltimore American of the 9th, which gives the Congressional sketch of its Washington Correspondent, as follows:

"*Standing Army*.—Mr. Rome of Va. moved the printing of 10,000 extra copies of the Report of the committee on the militia in relation to the *standing army* scheme of the Secretary of War, recommended by Mr. Poinsett and approved by the President in his annual message."

"*Approved by the President*.—This is another of the bold assertions of the day. It is like the caption of the Executive Committee to their insidious handbill of 100, or 150,000 impressions: "Plan of the *Standing Army* of 200,000 men, submitted to Congress by the Secretary of War, and recommended by the President of the U. S."—Mr. Poinsett, with that moral courage and strict regard to truth, which have always distinguished him, comes forward to explain the history of the bill. He declares, that the President "had no agency in preparing the plan, and no previous knowledge of its details." But why expatiate on this subject? We request our readers to read carefully over the ingenious letter now published for the first time. We recommend it to every dispassionate citizen of the U. S. It will effectually strike from the hands of the Opposition the most insidious and efficient weapon which they have wielded against us.

We shall also hasten to lay before our readers Mr. Keim's Report from the Militia Committee of the H. of R. and Mr. C. C. Clay's Report from the Committee of the Senate. These deal not to adopt any action upon the bill—and when these reports, and the Secretary's letter shall have been laid before our readers, we shall leave the whole matter to "the second sober thought" of a free and intelligent people.

A Petersburg Slangwanger (Intelligencer) asks, whether "Nathan" wishes to "sunder John Tyler, a Southern man with Southern feelings, and a slaveholder too, with the Abolitionists of the North and West, and to secure their votes for Martin Van Buren, who never owned any slaves, except those white slaves whom he has purchased with the spoils of office. Who will say now, that the Van Buren Federalists, are, the Southern Van Buren Federalists, are not paying court to the Northern and Western Abolitionists?"—"Paying court to the Abolitionists?" indeed! What, but a puppy can suspect that of that filly? If it were to court them, indeed, would they have told Mr. V. B., to "keep dark and be close," as W. H. Harrison has done, to play the wiles; and refuse all such intermeddlings from friends or foes. But Mr. Van Buren does not play the wiles; he does not put him into the hands of a "Confidential Committee," who assume the responsibility of answering for him, in order that he may "keep dark and lay close." He comes out boldly and boldly in favor of Southern rights; declares openly, that he will vote on any bill touching slavery—and whilst Gen. H. says, he will not answer such intermeddlings from friends or foes, V. B. boldly declares, "that no bill conflicting with those views could ever receive my constitutional sanction"—and moreover, that "I am, as a public man, bound by duty only in one direction—that of undisguised opposition."

The Slangwanger misrepresents Nathan's object. Nathan is an enemy to all mystification, all trick. He wishes every trait to stand upon its own bottom. "John Tyler receives the vote of the 'Quaker Abolitionists' of Ohio, let them know upon what grounds they are to give it. Would the P. put him under the vote of the men in the dark? Would he have John Tyler, too, be low and keep dark—lest he might lose their votes? Is Mr. Tyler, as Gen. H. is, to owe his election to the votes of the Abolitionists?—But the Slangwanger has the credit of speaking out on the point—Mr. T. is (he admits) a slaveholder."—I know, that letters have been addressed to Virginia, asking this very question. Why should not the writers apply at once to Mr. Tyler—and ask him, too, whether, if elected Vice President, and if he should succeed in case of Gen. H.'s death, to the Executive functions, he, like Martin Van Buren, would receive any bill which would establish a National Bank or affect slavery.

PHILO-NATHAN.

A Proposition for a Compromise.

The following proposition comes from the Compiler. It proposes to arrange an important and somewhat difficult matter on fair and amicable principles. For our own parts, we cheerfully acquiesce, and seriously recommend it to the consideration of our political friends. What we desire is, the appointment of fair and just Commissioners of Election, to take in the votes of the people. Give us a fair field, and we fear not the result. Virginia will never vote for a Federalist, and the candidate of the Abolitionists: ("The President of Kentucky."—The very important duty will soon have to be performed by the Governor and Council of appointing three persons in each county, to superintend the Presidential Election in the fall. The persons thus appointed have to select sub-commissioners for each precinct in each county. It is obvious that the Executive in the nature of things, have to depend upon the information of others in a great variety of cases. It would doubtless and the Executive very much in performing this delicate, and, at present, unusually interesting

function, if recommendations from the counties proceeding jointly from members of both political parties, were made out and forwarded, giving the names of such individuals as would be confident in by the people generally of each county, for their intelligence, firmness and integrity in conducting the election, and who might be relied on to select such assistants as would act with fairness and impartiality. We make the suggestion, hoping that its propriety will be seen by all who desire that the will of the People may be fully and fairly taken in the Presidential Election. We have no doubt such recommendations would be acceptable to the Executive, and would be respectfully considered."

Later still from Kentucky.—EXTRACT of a letter from Washington, June 6.—"In addition to the late news from Kentucky (Wickliffe's letter, &c.) I have the pleasure to inform you, that the Western mail of to-day confirms the previous report I had heard that 'Old Ben Hardin' had come out for the Administration, and is now engaged in trying to win the patriot sons from the dominion and influence of Mr. Clay, and place them in opposition to Gen. Harrison and his Abolition allies. How any slave State can cast her vote on Gen. Harrison is to me an inexplicable problem. The antidote is at work; for, before 'the 15th of November,' all the poison sent forth in aid of the 'tar and feather' candidate, will be hushed in silence by the voice of the pure Democracy of the States. The Hon. Henry Daniel has also abandoned the Whig party in Kentucky, and has actually taken the stump, and is now travelling his old Congressional District in aid of our cause. Advice from Kentucky speak encouragingly; and, indeed, why should it not be so, when so many important changes are taking place among the descendants of the 'Long Knife' State? She has been in a wrong position, and we hope she will soon return to her first principles, in her palmy days. There does not seem to be a doubt, that Gen. H. will be elected Governor of Indiana—that election will be the precursor of many victories to us, and defeats to the Whigs in many of the States."

Coming out!—Some of the Whig friends of Gen. Harrison have been attempting to prevail upon him to unmask. The Louisville Advertiser says, that the Speaker of the H. of R. of Kentucky, (Mr. Helms) has forwarded to him "a copy of Mr. Clay's Anti-Abolition speech, requiring him to endorse it." It also states, that two of the distinguished Councillors at Law of Louisville had undertaken a mission to North Bend, to rescue him out of the hands of his "Confidential Committee," and bring him out. (This movement had been quickened by the late powerful Address of the Democratic Kentucky Committee, of which 50,000 copies were in circulation, and in the course of another week "the number will be fully 100,000.") It was reported also, that Messrs. Preston of S. C. and Dawson of G. were putting the screws upon him; and it was reported, in the Globe of Wednesday, that he had retreated, and was throwing himself into the arms of his Southern friends.—(How far? Would he pledge himself to go as far as Mr. V. B., and vote any bill? NOTHING LESS will do, on that point.)—But the Globe of Thursday evening extracts from the National Intelligencer of that morning the following extraordinary correspondence, which distinctly shows that the Prophet is still veiled, the candidate still mute:

Subj. Gales and Seaton: Please publish in the Intelligencer the enclosed extract of a letter from General Harrison, under date of the 28th ultimo. It is in answer to a communication which I addressed to him, relative to that ignominious subjection to the Cincinnati Committee which has been so often ascribed to him. He repels the imputation that his thoughts are subject to the keeping or dictation of a committee.

"The publication of the annexed portion of his letter is due to General Harrison. It will be appreciated by the candid and just of all parties. To give it authentic, is a sufficient motive for connecting my name with its publication."

Yours, respectfully,

JOSEPH L. WILLIAMS.

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1840.

Extract from General Harrison's Letter.

"All the connection which I ever had with the Corresponding Committee of the Whigs of Hamilton county (that which I suppose has been alluded to), is, that I requested the committee through its chairman, Major Gwynne, to give the information sought for, in some of the numerous letters I received, in relation to my political opinions, and events in my past life. This was to be done by sending to the writers of those letters the documents which contain the information they sought. He was also authorized, in cases where further opinions were asked for, to state my determination to give no other pledges of what I would or would not do, if I should be elected to the Presidency."

The General then still means to remain mute. Be it so! He will give no other pledges of what I would or would not do, if I should be elected to the Presidency. As the Globesays, "The effect of this evidence, which the friends of Harrison produce to exonerate him from the imputation of being in the care of a committee, is to show that he *owns* and *takes* upon himself the responsibility of the policy which that committee announced. Instead of saving the committee a deal without authority in stating that he would make no further declaration of principles for the public eye, he says that he *authorized* them to do so.—This puts an end to all doubt. The people now are standing before them a candidate for the highest office they can confer, who boldly tells them he will answer none of their questions as to his opinions—he will not tell them what he will or will not do, if they elect him! Will the people vote for a man who thus treats their reasonable inquiries with contempt? November's poll will tell."

Such are the last advices from North Bend. The candidate is not a smothered cry by his friends, and he will probably not be. But if he does unmask at all, it must be thoroughly, without stint or equivocation. The whole of his face unveiled—Not a lineament concealed!

Portraits of the Hero candidates have been multiplied in pamphlets, almanacs, and the newspapers. The last edition is in the Psychological Journal (Senator Tallmadge's paper). It is amusing to see how various the faces, and how unlike all of them are to the original. It would seem, that the face of the 'Veiled Prophet' had been drawn, as it were, by guess, under a hood. He seems to have as many faces as opinions.

Mr. P. K. has addressed a letter to Mr. Grundy, which does him high honor. He says, that "In times like these, when powerful combinations of various sectional interests, are acting in extraordinary concert with our old opponent, the Federalists, and their allies the Abolitionists, against the cherished principles of our Republican constitution, personal and sectional preferences, between men of the same political principles, are of no importance." He then declares, "I trust I may be permitted to express my sincere desire, should the further use of my name, in connection with the Vice Presidency, be found to increase the slightest obstacle to the entire and cordial union of the Democratic party, that it may be promptly withdrawn by my friends from before the public."

New Deeds for the Empire!—The Whig Corresponding Committee of Spotsylvania, on the 6th June, invites the Elector to visit them as often as is convenient—but, for fear he should not appear often enough, they propose to appoint "Sub-Electors" to address the People of Spotsylvania. "Sub-Electors?"—Well, surely those Federalists, the most inventive people on the face of the earth—full of odd conceits and ridiculous inventions to cozen the votes of the People!

New Signal.—Among the banners, which were displayed on last Saturday by a gathering of the Whigs (some from Brooke county and from Wheeling) at Warren, Ohio, was one "Tip, Tom, and Tyler. A Bank and Tariff to compete with Foreigners." Here we have another banner unfurled—in unison with the Baltimore banner of "Tip, Tyler and Tariff." It is in the spirit of Andrew Stewart's speech at Union town in March.—Put Harrison in the Presidential chair, and we shall have the Federal Policy full-blown.—The Tariff enlarged, under the Compromise Act, and a National Bank established. Let no man who votes for Harrison be surprised at it. He has full notice and fair warning—and has no right to exclaim "Who would have thought it?"

Gen. Harrison cannot move without a certificate. His military services are attested by certificates of officers—and lo! here is Dr. Drake, with a certificate of his health and body (in favor of his civil qualifications.) The Doctor declares, that he was surprised at the accuracy of his memory, in relating various events from 1821 to 1831—but the N. Y. Post says, he may remember the past better than he does much later impressions—that "neither friend nor foe can get a word out of him in relation to his present opinions, or what may have passed through his mind a day or two before." The Doctor adds, "Whatever of intellect and information he may have at any time possessed with him, remains unimpaired by age"—and as to his health, the Doctor certifies that his "constitution is as good as that of most men of his age" (some 68 perhaps)—and he is subject to no disease," but "a periodical neuralgia of the head" (alias "headache," in the upper story.)

Virginia!—A respectable dealer, (and a Whig one too) makes this remark on the prospects of this "blessed mother of us all," that no State is blessed with more natural resources, arising from her climate and her soil. That her tobacco is worth to her 5 millions, when exported; her flour 1½ millions—and then, there are her Indian corn, her coal, her iron, cattle, and her other productions—besides her immense water power, and susceptibilities for domestic manufactures and internal improvements. Tobacco is now at a fine price, and rewarding her Planters. Things are coming right in Virginia. Who ought to be happier than she?—With *Industry and Economy*, the two great pillars of individual and national prosperity; with the power to make and to save; no State ought to be better off, than this Old Dominion.—And then her political principles, which are so pure and exemplary, that even Federalism and Harrisonism cannot corrupt them.

Items of News.

The Unicorn steamer (the first Cunard packet, which is to touch at Halifax), has arrived at Boston, with London dates to the 10th May. The difficulty between Great Britain and Naples had been settled. The affairs of Turkey wear a more hostile aspect. The intelligence in relation to the North-eastern Boundary question is entirely pacific. Nothing later of importance from Canton. Lord William Russell has been murdered, as is supposed by his rival.—The cotton market at Liverpool during the week ending May 15, had been depressed, with a falling off of prices 1d. in American and Brazils. The sales of the preceding week were brisk.

CONGRESS.

Senators.—The Bankrupt Bill is still before the Select Committee. There has been some excitement about publishing extra copies of the Report on the 13th Report—also about publishing Mr. Poinsett's Report, accompanied by Gen. Harrison's three Reports. Mr. Rome moved to print extra copies of the first—when Mr. Preston moved to print a large Edition of Mr. Poinsett's militia scheme.—Mr. Clay of A. took the Whig Senators by surprise, and moved to amend, by adding thereto the three Reports of Gen. Harrison. The urn which Mr. Clay of A. took on Mr. Preston's electrifying motion, had excited much mirth at Washington. The Senator finally agreed to print Poinsett and Harrison together—but Mr. Rome's motion, which he supported by one of his strong speeches, will lead to a more protracted debate.

H. of Representatives.—The House is every day in Committee of the Whole, on the Independent Treasury bill. Two or three speeches are sometimes delivered in the course of the day—but no question has yet been taken.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania was to adjourn yesterday. They have passed the bill to borrow \$3,000,000 to pay arrears of tax, and to carry on the public improvements—and a bill "to create additional revenues to be applied towards the payment of interest, and the extinguishment of the debts of the Commonwealth," by taxes on various objects of property and luxury, at a rate which is calculated to produce for the State Treasury an annual revenue of a million of dollars. We see nothing upon the proposition to change the day of redemption by the Banks.

Democratic Association of Richmond, Monckton, &c.

At a very full meeting of this Association, held at their room on Saturday night, the 6th inst., Mr. James Foster in the Chair, and C. Ellis, Jr., Secretary, the following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved, That this Association being deeply impressed with the importance of the present political crisis, recommend to the Democrats of the respective Electoral Districts, to hold frequent assemblies at different points within their respective Districts: And to the Democratic Party of the State, to assemble in general Convention, on the 2d Wednesday, in September, at Charlottesville."

The Republican papers throughout the Commonwealth are respectfully requested to publish the above.

Our Correspondent's "Questions and Answers" are in type—but unavoidably postponed till our next No.

The Friends of the present Administration in the county of Gloucester are requested to meet at the Courthouse at June court.

A meeting of the Republicans of Amelia is requested at June court, for the purpose of consulting for the good of the party, of giving efficiency to public sentiment, and of organizing and enlarging the Committee of Vigilance.

COMMUNICATED.

The Committee of Vigilance, and the Democratic citizens of the county of Hanover generally, are requested to meet at June Court next, (the 25d) to organize and arrange for the Presidential Election in November next. It is hoped and expected that there will be a full attendance. The Opposition are attempting to storm our Republican Fort, by their vapouring parade of *young men*, many of whom are from 60 to 70 years old, with a prominent U. S. Bank advocate as their file leader. These grey-headed young men are hardened in their sins, and as we cannot convince them, for he that's convinced against his will, is of the same opinion still.

We must beat them and their non-committal confidential committee, and high Tariff, and almost Abolition candidate for the Presidency, with the ballot box. June 10th, 1840.